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AUTHOR Damico, Alfonso J.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

The democratic education of African American students was compared to that of White students by exploring the relationship between their participation in high school activities and their levels of civic and political engagement as adults. Focusing on the informal political socialization of students, the study examined the racial differences in the types of activities in which students are involved, such as government and vocational clubs, who is involved in them, and whether these differences are related to adult civic and political activism. The analysis is based on data from surveys of the Senior Class of 1972 by the National Center for Education Statistics. The sample fluctuated between 8,456 and 19,238 adults, depending on the variables included in the analysis. Students from families with high socioeconomic status are far more likely to be white and to find themselves on paths that carry them to the academic track and from there to a rich associational school and community life. But for black students who become involved in their schools, these inequalities are greatly reduced. (Contains 2 figures, 7 tables, and 28 references.) (Author/SLD)

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Democratic Education: The Associational Life of African-American and White High School Students

Alfonso J. Damico*
Department of Political Science
University of Florida

M. Margaret Conway
Department of Political Science
University of Florida

Sandra Bowman Damico
Division of Educational Studies
Emory University

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* Direct correspondence to Alfonso J. Damico, 2824 Livsey Oaks Drive, Tucker, GA 30084. Email: adamico@polisci.ufl.edu

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ABSTRACT

Early in this century, John Dewey tied democracy's future to an education that would produce "the habits of mind and character, the intellectual and moral patterns" that would prepare students for citizenship. We compare the democratic education of African-American and white students by exploring the relationship between their participation in high school activities and their levels of civic and political engagement as adults. Focusing upon the informal political socialization of students, we look closely at racial differences in the types of activities in which students are involved, e.g., government and vocational clubs, who is involved in them, e.g., academic and general track students, and whether these differences are related to adult civic and political activism. The analysis is based upon data from surveys of the Senior Class of 1972 by the National Center for Education Statistics. Students from families with high socioeconomic status are far more likely to be white and to find themselves on a path that carries them into the academic track and from there into a rich associational school and community life. But for black students who become involved in their schools, these inequalities are greatly reduced.

Democratic Education: The Associational Life of African-American and White High School Students

Introduction

Early in this century, the American philosopher John Dewey tied democracy's future to an education that would produce "the habits of mind and character, the intellectual and moral patterns" that would prepare citizens for the task of collectively managing their life together (Dewey, 1935). What was needed above all else, Dewey insisted, was a sense of engagement in common purposes that could tie individuals together as members of a larger democratic public. More recent accounts of the meaning of democratic education, although less ambitious than Dewey's, echo him in assigning schools a major responsibility for democracy's success (Gutmann, 1987; Barber, 1992; Battistoni, 1985; Steiner, 1994). To be sure, writers disagree about the more specific goals that constitute an education for democracy or about whom precisely should determine those goals. Nonetheless, most agree that the idea of democracy entails and is completed by an education that fits and enables popular sovereignty. Members of a democratic community have the right to participate in a collective decision making process that fashions and refashions their lives together. This commitment to the political idea of "conscious social reproduction" intimates another. "A society that supports conscious social reproduction must educate all educable children to be capable of participating in collectively shaping their society" (Gutmann, 1987, 39).

In this paper, we compare the democratic education of African-American and white students by exploring the relationship between their participation in high school activities and their levels of civic and political engagement as adults. Education is often a decisive factor in determining community involvement and political participation (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, 1954; Putnam, 1995; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). Much of education's effects on participation are indirect and cumulative. Educational attainment is highly correlated with income, career, and organizational membership. Those with higher incomes give more money to political campaigns, those with professional careers are more likely to develop skills useful in civic life, and members of voluntary associations or other organizations are more easily mobilized for political activity (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 433-437). These resource differences often track gender and racial inequalities as well. Education occupies something of an intermediate role in this tracking process. What children learn at school or how well they are taught all too often mirrors their parents' socio-economic status. Since education also strongly influences which citizens are likely to have a meaningful say in

the decision making process, the future is biased toward reproducing the past. Clearly schools alone cannot reverse this bias but insofar as they prepare "all educable children" to become citizens, they help fit democratic practices to democratic ideals. In short, the fit between democratic theory and practice, as Dewey always insisted, begins at school.

democratic education

Following Dewey's lead (1922), we bring an experiential model to questions about the possibilities for a democratic education in that we trace the roots of civic and political activism among adults to their associational life while in high school. We set off assuming that what people learn is often a function of how they learn it and whether the `how' links the `what' to something meaningful in their own experience. This explains, we think, why social studies courses do not have much lasting impact upon students' level of political awareness or whether they become involved in their communities (Cf. Niemi and Junn, 1993). Put differently, whether or not students become politically literate depends not only upon what they are taught but upon what they learn and the latter is often the result of processes more experiential than cognitive.[1] Research on adult patterns of political activism repeats the point; without a supportive environment and associational life, civic skills are undeveloped because too rarely used (Schlozman, Burns, and Verba, 1994). In American schools the formal curriculum strongly emphasizes cognitive outcomes. Thus, more attention has been devoted to what students should be taught as part of an education for democracy than to how they might acquire that democratic education. Fortunately, students have a rich associational life grounded in extracurricular activities. It is here that much political socialization occurs, and, we believe, the potential for an equal education for democracy.[2]

In a wide ranging review of the research on the political consequences of school socialization, Klassen (1992) concludes that classroom and school climate are more important than course work in shaping students' political attitudes and beliefs. Lee Ehman specifically cites as an established fact "a consistent relationship between school participatory behavior and political attitudes" (1980, 110). The work canvassed by Klassen and Ehman, while often insightful and carefully done, is severely limited in that it only examines student experiences and beliefs at a specific moment in time. As Ehman notes, "the proposition that school participation is related to later political participation has not been studied" (110). Our study fills this gap. We track the life cycle of African-Americans and whites in the senior class of 1972 from their high school experiences through young adulthood into their early to mid thirties. To determine

whether, as in so many other things in society and at school, race matters in the informal political socialization of students, we look closely at whether there are racial differences in the types of activities in which students are involved, e.g., government and vocational clubs, who is involved in them, e.g., academic and general track students, and whether these differences are related to adult civic and political activism.

data

One of the few large data sets that enables tracking of the relationship between high school experiences and adulthood is the study of the Senior Class of 1972. The National Center for Education Statistics surveyed a representative national sample of that year's high school seniors. Selecting students from 1,318 high schools generated a survey population of 22,652 seniors. Men and women are almost equally represented in the sample. Whites in the sample equal 75.7%, African-Americans equal 13.9%, and Hispanics, Asian-Pacific, and Native Americans make up 9.3%. Follow up surveys were carried out in 1974, 1976, 1979, and 1986. The retention rate for the follow up surveys is impressive, hovering around 94% for the first three follow up surveys and only declining to 78% for the 1986 survey. The base-year survey focused mainly upon students' experiences within high school, their personal and family background, work experiences, plans, goals, and opinions. Each of the follow-up surveys was expanded to take account of life cycle effects so that over time there is information about the sample members' postsecondary education experiences, their military service, careers, marriage and family life, and civic engagement. Since our primary aim is to trace the impact of high school extracurricular activity participation on the acquisition of democratic beliefs and subsequent patterns of African-American and white adult community and political participation, we use data from the base-year survey and from the 1974, 1979, and 1986 follow up surveys. Cases with missing data have been excluded. The resulting sample fluctuates between 8,456 to 19,238 depending on the variables included within the analysis.

measures

We use a series of measures based upon questions in the longitudinal surveys of the 1972 senior class. To measure *high school activities* we use questions from the survey that ask, first, whether or not one has participated in a variety of activities and, when the answer is yes, whether the participation was "active" or as a "leader or officer." The measure of *democratic beliefs*, a variable that our model posits as an important factor in reenforcing the connection

among participation experiences, is constructed out of responses to a question included in the 1974 survey that asked about the worthwhileness of a number of political practices, such as voting or talking to elected officials, that are part of democratic life. We try to uncover how *democratic beliefs* and high school participatory behavior impact adult civic and political activism, using questions from the 1974, 1979, and 1986 surveys to construct measures of such activism. To examine whether high school activity participation predicts the holding of democratic beliefs and then whether the two account for patterns of community and political participation, a series of multiple regression analyses were run. *All of these analyses were run controlling for race.*

analysis

Our analysis comes in three parts. The first is a description of general rates of participation by black and white students in high school activities and in community and political activities after high school. Next, we focus more directly on students' high school activity participation to test our expectation that this encourages the holding of democratic beliefs which, in turn, predict to community and political participation. Finally, we examine a number of key events in people's lives, such as marriage and parenting, to assess whether these experiences have different effects on the patterns of community and political activism of African-Americans and whites. Crosstabs were run to explore connections among our nominal variables. When the analysis includes interval data, multiple regression analyses were run. Multiple regression estimates the relative contribution of each of the independent variables taking into account the correlations between all of the other independent variables (Hinkle, Wiersma, and Jurs, 1994). We report unstandardized regression coefficients and their standard errors as well as an indicator of the statistical significance of the coefficients.[3]

the associational life of Black and White high school students

Figure 1 gives a quick overview of the range and diversity of activities to which both white and black students willingly devote great amounts of time and energy. While we will not speculate on the quality of their high school experiences, we do note that eighteen percent of white students and sixteen percent of black students report never having participated in any high school activity. And a disproportionate number of those who drop out of high school come from their ranks (McNeal 1995; Natriello, 1987). Nonetheless, over eighty percent of students participate in some extracurricular school activity. Indeed, large numbers devote time to as

many as four different activities. We detect no large differences in either the rates of participation by black and white students or in the activities in which they participate. Twenty two percent of black students and twenty five percent of white students engaged in at least one extracurricular activity; sixty three percent of blacks and fifty seven percent of whites participated in two to five activities. Fifty five percent of blacks participate in athletics, fifty one percent of whites; thirty seven percent of black students report involvement in student government or the school paper, thirty two percent of white students are similarly involved. The same slight percentage differences, consistently favoring black rates of participation, appear in the figures for taking part in expressive clubs, e.g., drama groups, and subject matter clubs, e.g., the astronomy club. Vocational clubs are the one extracurricular activity that black students are significantly more likely to join than white students, thirty four and twenty four percent, respectively. But at a very general level the data graphed in Figure 1 describes a society in which the associational life of students from both races is extensive and, at least on this one measure, equal. There is no formal racial gap in participation in America's high schools.[4]

Insert Figure 1 About Here

Inequalities in the associational experiences of students make their first appearance when we take into account a student's curriculum track. Academic track students have far higher rates of participation than students in either the general or the vocational tracks. While only twelve percent of academic track students do not participate in any high school activity, the figure jumps to twenty three percent for nonacademic track students. Academic track and nonacademic track students are, however, about equally represented when we compare their participation rates for one or two activities. But at the top end, that is, participation in three to five activities, academic track students are again significantly more involved than students from the other tracks. The percent of these highly active students coming from the academic curriculum is forty six percent, from the general curriculum thirty two percent, and from the vocational curriculum thirty percent. Even larger differences among these students occur whenever we ask about their roles as leaders in some activity. This dominant role played by the academic students in a school's associational life becomes most severe when we look at activities that might be expected to most nurture the skills relevant to political life. Forty eight percent of academic track students participate in student government, school newspapers, or yearbooks; by comparison, thirty three percent of the students enrolled in the general track

participate in these activities, and only twenty seven percent of the vocational track students.

Curriculum tracks, as is well known, follow SES markers which, in turn, mirror economic inequalities between white and black households. Thirty nine percent of white students in our sample were enrolled in their school's academic track compared to twenty eight percent of black students. Sixty percent of students from high SES families are in this track compared to twenty one percent from low SES families. These inequalities are cumulative in that twenty seven percent of white students come from families with a high SES compared to five percent of black students. Similarly, while twenty percent of white students are members of low SES families, this figure leaps to sixty two percent for black students. The high correlations between curriculum track, race, and SES is evident in Table 1. Students from families with high socioeconomic status are far more likely to be white and to find themselves on a path that carries them into the academic track and from there into a rich associational school life.

Insert Table 1 About Here

extracurricular activities and democratic beliefs

Among adults there is a strong relationship between democratic beliefs or valuing democratic political practices such as voting and taking part in those activities. The transition from *homme* to *citoyen* is complex and incompletely understood, but at its core is the desire and opportunity to become part of the democratic process for making decisions. Democratic education has to speak to both the desire and the opportunity. Minimally, conceiving of one's self as a democratic citizen depends upon the sense that what is being decided matters to you and to others. Political literacy is one thing, caring about what one knows is another. And students are more likely to care about what they know when this learning is grounded in conjoint experiences where social interactions reenforce the value of their participation.

We first look at students' Democratic Beliefs as a dependent variable, specifically whether activity participation and/or the number of social studies courses taken while in school are related to valuing democracy. Table 2 indicates that a positive relationship holds for participation but not for formal course work. Being a leader in clubs strengthens the effects of participation, a finding similar to work showing that political party activists are stronger supporters of democratic values than the general public. In contrast, the Number of Social Studies Courses Taken while in high school is not related to students' beliefs about the value of democratic political life, a finding consistent with most other research done on this question

(Merelman, 1971; but Cf. Niemi and Junn, 1993).

Insert Table 2 About Here

civic and political engagement

Democratic education is about political life but not coterminous with it. Because we are accustomed to deploying the distinction between the public and private spheres to define the political and the nonpolitical, there is also a tendency to equate the political with things that occur in the public sphere. But this risks overlooking the significance of community membership and participation in nonpolitical groups for politics. At least since de Tocqueville, political scientists have understood that joiners become more active in the political process. Figure 2, based on a six point scale, shows that African-Americans are on average more civically and politically engaged than whites or the total population. But the differences in the range of community and political acts engaged in by the two races are relatively minor.

Insert Figure 2 About Here

Greater discrimination in civic and political engagement is possible whenever we look at the influence of major high school variables on these adult patterns of activity. As Table 3 begins to show, associational high school life has a lasting effect. The table identifies those students who were active in high school activities as the adults who are most likely to be members and leaders in their communities in both 1979 and 1986. And, to repeat the point, being a high school leader increases this likelihood. Thus, the effect of adolescent activity participation is still being felt fourteen years after high school graduation. Additionally but not surprisingly, individuals who affirm the importance of democratic practices are significantly more likely than their opposite number to join the ranks of those who become involved in civic activities and play a leading role in them.

Insert Table 3 About Here

Student participation in different types of extracurricular activities and our various measures of civic engagement justify the democratic theorist's picture of school life as one of

democracy's starting points.[5] *Community member* is probably the least demanding of our measures of civic involvement. A parent who belongs to a parent teacher's association or an adult who attends church regularly would show up in our sample as someone who, however minimally, belongs to his or her community. Students, both black and white, who took part in their school's athletic program, including participating as a cheerleader or as a member of the marching band, are more likely than nonparticipants to report activities that quality them as belonging to a community. This pattern of greater civic engagement among those students with a rich associational school life recurs for all activities with the single exception of vocational clubs. And it is repeated when we look at more direct political activities such as discussing politics or engaging in political actions ranging from voting to contributing to a campaign. Statistically, we cannot assign greater significance to one or another extracurricular activity. However, the trend line is clear; participation reproduces itself.

Common sense might indicate that those individuals who were active in high school groups would be active in adult groups, but would they also engage in political discussions and become involved in political activities. Our analysis of these adults who discuss politics with their friends, family members, or fellow workers suggests that democratic talk is widespread. Ninety five to ninety seven percent of people say that politics comes up in their conversations with friends or other acquaintances. And this is as true for those who were not involved in high school activities as for those who were. *Political discussant* is a role that almost everyone assumes. The role of *political participant* is more demanding. To become a citizen activist, one must care enough to vote, or, more demandingly, find time to work in a campaign or be willing (and able) to give money to a political candidate. As we would expect, fewer blacks and whites make the transition form *discussant* to *participant*. Those who do make the transition are more likely to come from the ranks of those who were part of their school's extracurricular activities.

Insert Table 4 About Here

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life experience effects

High school experiences, however important, are only one moment in anyone's life course. After graduation, there is employment, marriage, parenthood and other major events whose importance might be expected to override whatever significance schooling has for democratic citizenship. Such research is complicated because life course patterns, e.g., the age at which people marry, the number of working women, the percentage of single parent families,

change over time (Sapiro, 1983). Nonetheless, we want to begin exploring the possible effects of some of these events on community and political participation. The independent variables included within tables 5 and 6 measure educational attainment, income, whether or not one is married, the presence or absence of preschool age and school age children, and race. Table 5 also compares for possible differences between men and women. The patterns recorded for this set of independent variables are not as consistent as those found in previous tables, making interpretation more difficult. There is, however, one consistent pattern across the two tables. Educational Attainment is significantly associated with the intensity of community engagement in both 1979 and 1986. Not surprisingly, people with school age children are more likely to become part of their community than those without any children or those with Preschool age children. Income seems to have less effect on patterns of community engagement than we anticipated. Similarly, being married or single is irrelevant. African-Americans are more likely than whites to become community members and community participants (see also Welch, 1975; Shingles, 1981; Gutterbock, 1983; Bobo, 1990). Interestingly, men appear to become more involved in their communities than women at a young age, 1979, but seven years later in 1986 this reverses.

Insert Table 5 About Here

In Table 6 we again see the positive, significant impact of Educational Attainment, this time on political participation in both 1979 and 1986. Income now matters in ways that it did not for community activities, suggesting that money is a factor in the decision that carries people across the threshold into political life. Preschool age children continue to make it less likely that people will become politically active. This finding is probably best explained by the time constraints that working and raising young children impose on most families. That judgement is consistent with the parallel finding that once children are at school their influence on adult political behavior disappears. Race is still a significant variable and predicts greater participation by blacks than whites.

Insert Table 6 About Here

high school activity participation and life experiences

Since the patterns of relationships for activity participation were consistent and the

patterns of relationships for the Life Experience variables were mixed, we combined both sets of variables to see if the composite helped in predicting which adults were likely to participate in civic and political life. The findings are presented in Table 7.

Holding Democratic Beliefs, having been a Participant in high school activities, and Educational Attainment are consistently associated with community activities and leadership, and political participation. Neither high school curriculum track placement[6] nor Number of Social Studies Courses Taken are predictors of adult behaviors. Taken alone the fact that the associational life of high school students has such enduring civic and political effects, effects equally significant for both blacks and whites, is impressive. But this finding becomes even more powerful when compared to the rather mixed and muted effects produced by life experiences, experiences that we had assumed would be as powerful predictors as those associated with life at school. Repeating the finding in Table 6, whites were less likely to engage in political acts such as campaigning for a candidate or contacting public officials in 1986 than nonwhites. In both 1979 and 1986, sex differences in political activity favor men. While women vote at rates nearly equal to men, our measure of political participation includes such factors as contributing to a candidate or belonging to a political organization, activities more often engaged in by men (Verba, *et.al.*, 254-256).

Insert Table 7 About Here

Discussion

Democracy persists through a process of reproduction that includes activities large and small. When citizens vote, they not only determine who will fill a particular public office they also recreate the electoral process as the site of the government's legitimacy. The belief that one has rights or that the majority should rule is part of valuing democracy as a method for making decisions. Even a letter written to the local newspaper to denounce or praise some government policy recalls and repeats the idea of democracy. All of this depends, of course, upon individuals valuing the democratic process and being prepared to play their part as critical but constructive citizens. It is this need that explains the lasting interest of democratic theorists in what happens at school. Citizenship education is a broad and often ambiguous project and one that has to take into account differences from country to country and in all likelihood from school to school. Nonetheless, it is possible to discern some general patterns between high school life, on the one side, and community and political participation, on the other. Most telling is the

consistent relationship between participation in extracurricular activities, valuing democratic processes, and community and political activism. Again and again, we find that blacks and whites participating in extracurricular activities report shortly after graduation, in 1974, that democracy matters to them in ways that it does not for those who failed to participate. Moreover, this relationship is strengthened by the more active role signaled by being a leader in some club or activity. We believe that this supports the arguments of educators such as Dewey and others who have insisted that becoming a democrat is not some cognitive moment in which one chooses this civic identity. Rather, it is the result of a process more interactive and social. While the quality or nature of students' associational life is beyond the reach of survey data, that life is one of the most important sites for citizenship education.

When we focused more specifically on the life experiences of African-Americans and whites after graduation, the results were more and less ambiguous. They were less ambiguous in that the evidence points to high school experiences *as more important than later life experiences in explaining community and political activism.* But the life experience effects are mixed. Nonetheless, there is a fairly visible chain in the data. The first link connects high school participation to democratic beliefs. The second connects these to community and political activism in adult life. Only the level of educational attainment beyond high school matches high school associational life as a factor increasing the chances that someone will become an active citizen in their twenties and thirties.

Given the importance of participation in extracurricular activities for the preparation of students for citizenship, it is important to note that not all students are equally educated for democracy. Baldly stated, students in the academic track dominate the associational life of most, if not all, high schools. Following students from their high school years to adulthood reveals just how much *curriculum tracking is political socialization tracking as well.* And, as noted earlier, thirty nine percent of the white students in our sample were enrolled in the academic track compared to twenty eight percent of black students.

Nonetheless, we might speculate that a chief difference between high school and adult life is that schools imperfectly mirror the inequalities found on the other side of the school house door. Parents' SES, number of civics courses, community size, gender, race: all can affect a student's democratic education. But their effects are indirect in the sense that they influence which students participate or, we prefer to say, how participatory opportunities are distributed. Students from higher socioeconomic families and those enrolled in the academic track are more likely to be active and even more likely to be leaders in high school activities. But for those who

become involved the effects of these opportunity inequalities are greatly reduced. The need for equality in the associational life of blacks and whites from all SES levels at school is made greater by this fact.

Our findings suggest that the associational experiences of students at school go some way towards preparing "all educable children" to take part in democratic political life. But in the conversations between public officials and citizens, white voices-- amplified by cash for campaign contributions and other advantages-- are easier to hear than black voices. Too many blacks earn too little to become part of our democratic talk, and too many whites harbor deafening racial prejudices (Hacker, 1992). So while we support John Dewey's argument that democracy begins in the schools, we are equally mindful of his insistence that it can not end there.

Endnotes

1. Research on the moral development of school children also highlights how much their development depends upon social interactions. The strongest findings argue that trust, fairness, and mutual respect are qualities most characteristic of students enrolled in schools where conjoint experiences or cooperative group activities lead the students themselves to value fair play (Kohlberg 1970; Gilligan, 1982).

2. While often characterized as nonpolitical, voluntary school, church, or club activities can teach participants various group and individual skills, e.g., agenda setting, coordinated action, articulateness, self-confidence, that are equally important to successful political action. This transferability of skills is one reason why the study of political education cannot be organized around the familiar dichotomy between the public and private spheres. Even the doctrine of the separation of church and state, valuable for its juridical effects, cannot separate what people learn as church activists from their empowerment as political activists.

3. For a discussion as to why unstandardized as opposed to standardized regression coefficients should be reported, see King (1986).

4. Our data do not enable us to control for the racial composition of high schools, so we cannot determine whether these participation rates vary according to a school's racial diversity. One finding that bears on this question is the report that black females attending predominantly white schools do not participate in integrated extracurricular activities (Damico & Scott, 1988). This finding, if proven to be more widely true, poses a dilemma for the theory and practice of democratic education. We argue that high school associational life is an important initial experience that educates students for democracy. If this experience is less available to students who are a distinct minority in their school, their democratic education is weakened. On the other hand, segregated schools undermine ideals of democratic equality and equal educational opportunities. We cannot address this dilemma here but hope to do so in future work .

5. The five types of extracurricular activities (athletics, student government/media, expressive, subject matter, and vocational clubs) were used as the independent variables for the cross tabulations. The dependent variables included community member, community participant, political discussion, and political participant for the years 1979 and 1986. The measure of association between the row and column variables (Kendall's Tau-c) was too low to rank the

political socialization effects of different extracurricular activities or otherwise add to the general findings presented in Table 3. But significant percentage differences between participating and nonparticipating students do show up in our measures of civic engagement. High school activists make more room for public commitments in their adult lives. When discussing percentages, rounding has been used.

6. When students reach adulthood, educational attainment replaces curriculum track as a predictor of community activism. Does this mean that curriculum track should not be considered a major initial factor in the process whereby some learn better than others how to become citizens? Perhaps not. A plausible inference is that those who were assigned to the academic track in high school are more likely to have continued their education beyond high school. In other words, academic track conceived as access to higher levels of courses in one guise or another might continue to influence adult voluntary activity.

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Table 1

Effects of High School Curriculum Track and SES on Extracurricular Activity Participation and Leadership

High School & SES Variables	Participation in High School Extracurricular Activities	Leadership in High School Extracurricular Activities
Academic Track	.572*** (.095)	.235*** (.047)
General Track	.022 (.095)	.012 (.047)
Vocational Track	-.051 (.096)	-.042 (.047)
SES	.001 (.001)	7.875-E-04 (9.794E-04)
African-Americans	.523*** (.047)	.057** (.023)
Whites	.188*** (.038)	.051** (.018)
Constant	1.629	.296
F =	128.442***	83.452***
AdjR^2	.038	.025
N =	19,238	19,238

Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients. Entries in ( ) are standard errors. One tailed t test: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 2

Effects of High School Activity Participation, Activity Leadership, and Number of Social Studies Courses Taken on Democratic Beliefs

High School Variables	Democratic Beliefs
Participant in Extracurricular Activities	.079*** (.007)
Leader in Extracurricular Activities	.121*** (.014)
Number of Social Studies Courses Taken	.013 (.006)
African-Americans	.172*** (.041)
Whites	.348*** (.033)
Constant	1.598
F =	107.603***
Adj.R^2	.028
N =	18,169
Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients. Entries in ( ) are standard errors. One tailed t test: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001	

Table 3

Effects of High School Participation, Leadership, and Democratic Beliefs on Adult Community Membership and Participation, 1979 and 1986

High School Activity & Democratic Beliefs	Member 1979	Participant 1979	Member 1986	Participant 1986
HS Participant, 1972	.226*** (.011)	.144*** (.009)	.193*** (.013)	.128*** (.010)
HS Leader, 1972	.193*** (.023)	.162*** (.018)	.200*** (.026)	.162*** (.020)
Democratic Beliefs	.063*** (.004)	.043*** (.003)	.061*** (.120)	.039*** (.004)
African-Americans	.340*** (.072)	.198*** (.056)	.174* (.084)	.036 (.065)
Whites	.051 (.056)	.028 (.044)	.040 (.064)	.001 (.050)
Constant	.809	.415	1.219	.655
F =	250.881***	192.493***	156.747***	123.155***
Adj.R^2	.089	.069	.078	.062
N =	12,756	12,756	9,197	9,197

Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients. Entries in ( ) are standard errors. One tailed t test:
* = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001

Table 4

Effects of High School Participation, Leadership, and Democratic Beliefs on Adult Political Activity, 1979 and 1986

High School Activity & Democratic Beliefs	Political Activity, 1979	Political Activity, 1986
HS Participant, 1972	.083*** (.010)	.081*** (.010)
HS Leader, 1972	.142*** (.020)	.113*** (.020)
Democratic Beliefs	.089*** (.003)	.071*** (.004)
African-Americans	.044 (.062)	.114 (.066)
Whites	-.120** (.049)	-.085 (.050)
Constant	.245	.358
F =	186.379***	118.541***
Adj.R^2	.063	.057
N =	13,648	9,650

Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients. Entries in ( ) are standard errors. One tailed t test: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001

Table 5

Effects of Life Experience Variables on Adult Community Membership and Participation, 1979 and 1986

Life Experience Variables	Member 1979	Participant 1979	Member 1986	Participant 1986
Educational Attainment	.194*** (.007)	.126*** (.006)	.347*** (.020)	.217*** (.016)
Income	.165*** (.029)	.050* (.023)	.185*** (.048)	.051 (.038)
Married	-.012 (.007)	-.003 (.006)	.009 (.032)	-.029 (.025)
Preschool Age Children	.063 (.042)	.042 (.033)	-.009 (.044)	.016 (.035)
School Age Children	.419*** (.066)	.189*** (.052)	.809*** (.048)	.538*** (.038)
African-Americans	.531*** (.079)	.331*** (.062)	.305** (.100)	.139 (.079)
Whites	.097 (.059)	.070 (.047)	.024 (.078)	.044 (.062)
Sex	-.228*** (.035)	-.118*** (.028)	.047 (.042)	.095** (.034)
Constant	.788	.672	.130	.038
F =	108.591***	63.962***	66.697***	44.630
Adj.R^2	.063	.043	.069	.045
N =	11,113	11,112	7,059	7,059

Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients. Entries in ( ) are standard errors. One tailed t test: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001. Sex is coded in such a way that a negative coefficient indicates a closer relationship between men and the dependent variable, and, of course, a positive coefficient indicates that the relationship holds more strongly for women.

Table 6

Effects of Life Experience Variables on Adult Political Activity, 1979 and 1986

Life Experience Variables	Political Activity, 1979	Political Activity, 1986
Educational Attainment	.098*** (.006)	.157*** (.016)
Income	.048* (.025)	.110** (.039)
Married	-.020** (.006)	.020
Preschool Age Children	.056 (.036)	-.127*** (.036)
School Age children	-.021 (.056)	.040 (..039)
African-Americans	.158* (.068)	.175* (.081)
Whites	-.070 (.051)	-.163** (.064)
Constant	.712	.419
F =	38.362***	20.407***
Adj.R^2	.021	.018
N =	11,912	7,391

Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients. Entries in ( ) are standard errors. One tailed t test: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001

Table 7

Effects of High School Variables, Democratic Beliefs, and Life Experience Variables on Community Participation and Political Activity, 1979 and 1986

Selected Variables	Community Participation, 1979	Community Participation, 1986	Political Activity 1979	Political Activity 1986
High School Participant	.145*** (..011)	.116*** (.014)	.078*** (.161)	.086*** (.014)
High School Activity Leader	.132*** (.022)	.124*** (.026)	.139*** (.024)	.083*** (.026)
Number of Social Studies Courses Taken	.003 (.009)	-.002 (.011)	.001 (.010)	.009 (.011)
Academic Track	-.119 (.154)	-.020 (.211)	-.143 (.161)	.009 (.219)
General Track	-.118 (.154)	.016 (.212)	-.220 (.160)	-.019 (.220)
Vocational Track	-.103 (.155)	-.063 (.214)	-.159 (.162)	-.013 (.223)
Democratic Beliefs	.034*** (.004)	.039*** (.005)	.231*** (.013)	.072*** (.005)
Educational Attainment	.077*** (.007)	.138*** (.019)	.043*** (.008)	.065*** (.020)
Income	.015 (.025)	.001 (.043)	.013 (.026)	.033 (.044)
Married	-.003 (.006)	-.046 (.028)	-.017** (.006)	.031 (.028)
Preschool Age Children	.013 (.036)	-.021 (.039)	.051 (.038)	-.177*** (.040)
School Age Children	.228*** (.057)	.559*** (.042)	-.007 (.060)	.073 (.044)
African-Americans	.170* (.071)	-.018 (.091)	.114 (.074)	.066 (.094)
Whites	.018 (.051)	-.037 (.069)	-102 (.055)	-228*** (.071)
Sex	-.217*** (.030)	.016 (.038)	-.244*** (.033)	-.264*** (.039)
Constant	.579	.094	.740	.532
F =	58.066***	36.414***	48.020***	26.267***
Adj.R^2	.091	.088	.067	.062
N =	8,456	5,474	9,790	5,719

Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients. Entries in ( ) are standard errors. One tailed t test:
* = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001. For the coding of sex, see Table 5.

Figure 1

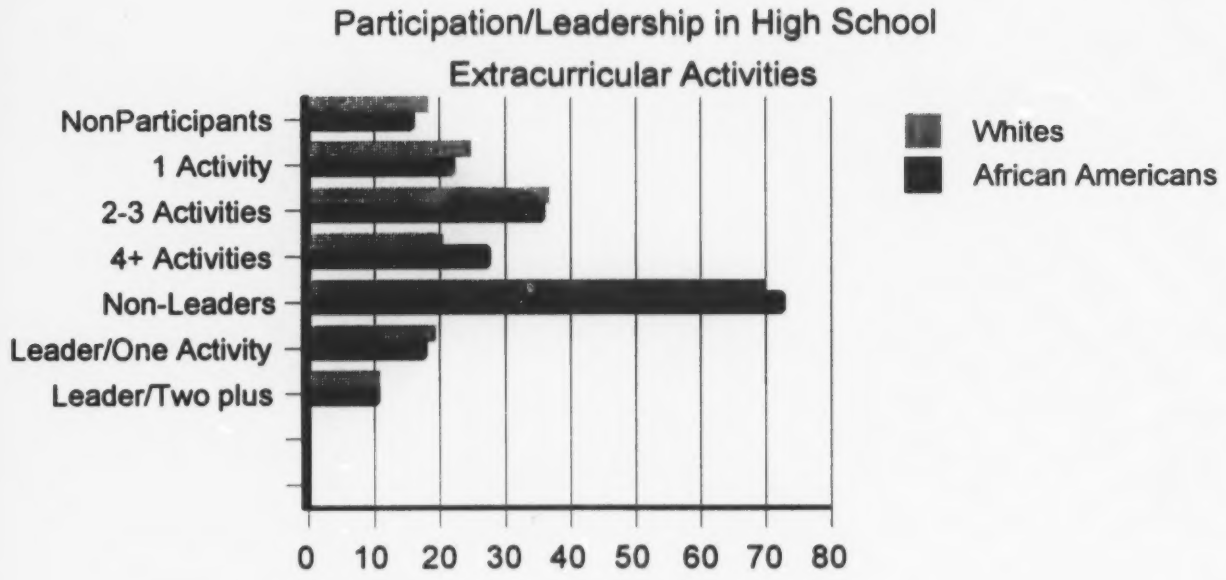
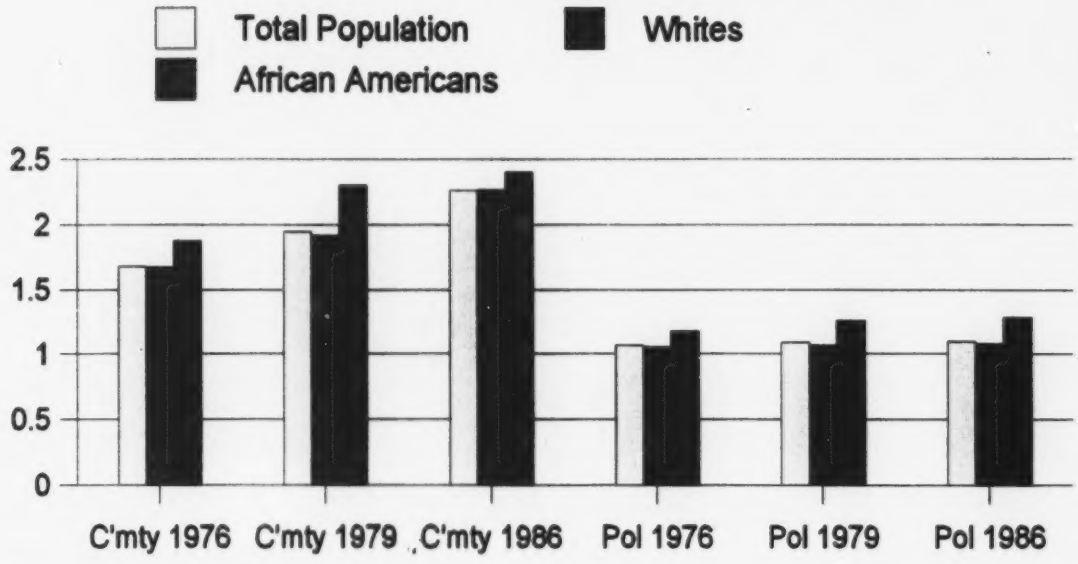

Participation/Leadership in High School
Extracurricular Activities
NonParticipants
1 Activity
2-3 Activities
4+ Activities
Non-Leaders
Leader/One Activity
Leader/Two plus
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
Whites
African Americans

Figure 2*

Mean Levels of Community & Political Participation



* Nine percent of the total population is composed of Hispanics, Asians, and Native-Americans. This accounts for the fact that in one instance, community 1986, the column for the total population is shorter than the other two columns in the figure.